l: Karsten--88-89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Living on the eastern slopes of the Andes where the climate is not, as a rule, particularly hot, the Jibaros dress themselves better than many tribes further down the Amazon valley. The principal article of clothing of the men is a loin-cloth (itipi), reaching down a little below the knees and kept together round the waist by means of a cincture of human hair or of snake's skin (akáchu). This piece of clothing is woven by the men themselves from cotton cultivated by the Jibaros, and it is dyed in certain colours, as we shall see later on. The upper part of the body, that is, the shoulders and the chest, is frequently kept bare, especially when the weather is hot, but is at other times covered with a small square piece of cloth of the same manufacture as the loin-cloth and dyed brown with roucou. In the middle of it is a hole through which the head is passed, so that the cloth covers both the chest and the back. This article of clothing which is called awangéama, corresponds to the poncho of the mountain Indians. The women keep the hair shorter and their dress is more complete, in that their principal article of clothing, the tarachi, covers not only the waist and the thighs, but also the breasts and the right shoulder, the left shoulder and both arms being left bare. It is held [89] together at the waist by a girdle of cotton wool called ikichi. The tarachi is woven of the same stuff as the itipi, being composed of two itipi sewn together. Both articles of clothing are woven exclusively by the men."

I: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 291 (1928-29)

"Clothes of cotton stuff seem however to be of comparatively modern origin. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kańaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night. The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kańaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles. -- The Canelos Indians, like other half-civilized Indians of Eastern Ecuador, nowadays only wear trousers and shirts made of linen which they have obtained from the whites."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

2: Stirling--100 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 291

"The costume of the men consists of a rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth which is brown in color with light vertical stripes, called an itipi. This is wrapped around the waist where it is tucked in and allowed to hang just below the knees. The men are uncovered from the waist up. When traveling the men wear a bag of monkey skin with the fur attached in which they carry their ornaments and other small articles (pl. 13).

The costume of the women, called tarachi, consists of a much larger rectangular piece of woven cotton cloth not as heavy nor as finely made as those of the men (pl. 3). It is wrapped around the body in such fashion that the two upper corners meet over the right shoulder where they are pinned together with a chonta-wood pin. A cord is worn around the waist and the lower part of the skirt is drawn through it in such fashion as to make a loose blouse about the waist. In this infants and very young children are carried by their mothers, either on the back or at the breast (pls. 23, c; 17, a, b). The skirt of the women also hangs just below the knees and the left shoulder is bare. When a family does not have sufficient cloth garments, or a woman has no man to weave for her, the tarachi is sometimes made from bark cloth (pl. 19). Boys also occasionally wear clothing of this material."

4: Up de Graff--195-196 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 291

"As for clothing, the men wear the loin cloth when out hunting or fighting or on any special festival, but seldom when in their own homes or in wet weather. The women, in addition to the loin cloth, wear a blouse in the form of a square piece of cloth with a hole cut in the centre for the head; this garment is tied round the waist with a fibre cord. The material for the clothes of both sexes is a fine cotton 'homespun,' woven by the men, composed of thread of [196] various shades dyed with fast colours produced from the leaves and barks of the vast storehouse of the woods."

12: Rivet--361
116, 291, 826

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

To conclude the physical description of the Jíbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

12: Rivet--361-362 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291

The clothing of the Jíbaros is extremely simple (fig. 4): the man wears a rectangular piece of cotton, the itipi, which he has woven and dyed of [362] coffee color with darker vertical stripes. 1m 40 wide and 84 cent., long, it is wound around the waist, one of the ends always being on the anterior median line, and it descends about half way down the calf. In order to dye the cotton the Indians soak it for some time in a tepid maceration of leaves from a plant called yamacali. The itipi is held at the waist by a cord or any sort of band. Around his head, the Jíbaro often wears a band of the same material, 7 cent. wide and 50 cent. long, called (i)tzimata, terminated at each end by a fringe of 58 cent., which is rolled tightly around the back plait (fig. 7-1).

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

18: Hermessen--440 [4] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 291

"The clothing of the men consisted of a piece of a coarse cotton fabric, of a uniform striped pattern dyed a dull reddish-brown, about three feet wide, worn like a kilt and tied about the waist with a girdle of fiber. The dress of the women was the same, but with the addition of another piece of similar material thrown over one shoulder and there fastened in such a manner as to hide the breasts."

25: Vigna--42 [3]
116, 291, 286

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The Dress and Finery of the Jíbaro. The dress of the Jíbaro consists of a loincloth of cotton, woven by the man on primitive frames. He spins the threads which make up the weave on rainy days with very simple distaffs and spindles. Once the threads are prepared, the Jíbaro colors them with earths and special coloring materials procured in abundance from the plants of the forest. The color of the cloth that he weaves is not showy; the colors of the ground, coffee-color and black, are not easily distinguishable.

25: Vigna--43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291

The Jíbaro woman is very decently covered with a cloth of the same kind as the itipi, of the same width and two varas long. The cloth passes over the left shoulder where the two extremities fasten with a great bodkin or "chonta" thorn. It covers the breast. The right shoulder and both arms remain uncovered. The cloth falls to the ankle, and is fastened with cinctures of cotton from which ten or more jingles of shells or hollow seeds often hang; on walking, the women produce a typical, happy sound. These Cinctures are indispensable for the pregnant woman, for thanks to them, the creature is formed in the maternal womb with a happy character and is a lover of harmony. The name of the dress of the Jíbaro woman is "Tarachi." It is not unusual to see Jíbaros who use loincloths made of the bark of "tamajuana", which they gather in abundance, beat, and dry. This cloth is closely woven and flexible.

25: Vigna--46-47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 291, 183

Personal modesty is generally great in both men and women. The boy, until puberty, goes about nude in and out of the house; the girl, from a tender age always wears the "tarachi." The man is reserved in his actions, and of very few words; the [47] woman has great modesty in her deportment, but almost none in her manner of speaking.

26: Brüning--56 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 515, 291

When bathing, the Indians dispose of their loin cloth (itipe). With a short piece of string they tie up the prepuce in front of the glans. In isolated cases I noticed that the Indians tied the penis string to a stronger waist string, an operation which pulled the penis upward. The waist string is also used to fasten the loin cloth. According to information received from the whites, the tying-up of the prepuce is motivated by the fact that a small fish (carnero) may be found at certain points of the Marañón River and its tributaries; this carnero is said to enter the urinary tract, thereby causing painful inflammations. If there was a sudden downpouring of rain during our canoe voyages, the Indians used to store the itipe in a waterproof basket and afterward tie up the prepuce.

26: Brüning--58 [3] (1902) 1928 [4]Jívaro
116, 291

Men have only one piece of clothing: the itipe, a square piece of cotton, held by a waist string and usually reaching down to the ankles. It is light and has chocolate-brown stripes. One specimen in my collection has a width (around the hips) of 140 cm. and a length (from the hips to the ankles) of 70 cm. Two pieces, each one 70 x 70 cm. are sewn together. Here and there a man would wear a shirt, trousers and a cap. Boys up to the age of eight go stark naked.

26: Brüning--58 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 291

The women's dress is called tarátše. It is somewhat larger than that of the men and of a solid chocolate-brown color. A square piece of cotton is sewn together with a few stitches at the two corners on one side. Occasionally it is only pinned together (sometimes with a thorn), or it is simply tied into a knot. Then it is pulled over the head and over the left arm, so that the knot will rest on the right shoulder, while the left shoulder remains bare. The open right side is overlapping and held together around the waist by means of a belt. I believe to have observed that the part which is stitched together always rested on the right shoulder. (My only clear photograph of women, Illustration 3, seems to belie this statement, but I discovered that I exposed the negative through the plate.) The tarátše reaches down to half of the calves or to the ankles. Fashion does not seem to prescribe anything definite. Old women and young girls wear their dresses shorter than young married women. Girls are clad from their infancy on.

28: Tessman--343 [6] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

Men wear a loincloth, itípa (itipi according to Ribet). It is a cotton weave with a very pleasant pattern (simple longitudinal stripes of purple color with a black border against a dirty bright-yellow background). It is sewn together of two pieces, like the sleeveless shirt of the Tschamas. The loincloth has a height of 75 cm. and a width of 136 cm. The width results from the widths of the two single pieces, each one about 68 cm. wide. There are several belts to go with it, some ordinary, others better. In most cases an ordinary belt consists of a strip of fur or simply a string made of Astrocaryum (chambira) fibers.

28: Tessman--343-344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 301, 291

The ornamental belts are often quite painstakingly made. Some of them are made out of twisted fur strips or out of a woven band (width: 4 cm.) to which are attached pearl strings with triangular pieces of shell from the Achatina snail. There is also a belt made of human hair which projects either only in one direction or in two directions. And there are [344] many other kinds of belts... such as wide ones made of fruit shells, seeds and pieces of vanilla.

28: Tessman--344 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 177, 291

One may also see a poncho, that is to say, a square piece of cloth with a hole in the middle in order to pull it over the head. This piece of clothing is to be found (according to Karsten in his Blood Revenge, p. 25) among the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, where it is called awangeama. It is certain that this poncho has been imported from the Ketschua Indians."

28: Tessman--344 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 291

According to one informant, the Aguarunas pull the penis up with a string under the loin cloth.

Boys up to the age of 10 or 12 go naked.

The women are dressed with a long cloth (tarátše), which fully covers the loins and breasts. (See Plate 65, below.) In most cases it is dyed dark. Even little girls wear a small piece of cloth which later is to be replaced by the tarátše.

/331 cont./

357 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, 342 [355] which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bedrooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch 352 342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully 342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such 352 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. Everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing • 291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

/331 cont./

29/ extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed commonly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

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[73 648 197 439 [191] The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circumstances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:

In the *old* days, all the Jívaro [*aencuri huetí*] lived near the Río Pastaza. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangosa, they encountered two Macabeos, who were kilts like the *huetí*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jívaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *huetí* returned downstream and told their people:

[[292] [411] [29]

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] [412] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[29] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[29] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

412 end lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 322 532 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen on the handles of mush and mortar boards, and on the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 [534] The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing objects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [415] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [399] traded from the frontier Jivaro.

412 [344] [244] Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely employed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant, and sometimes a hardwood wood-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 [294] [415] The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the [291] [294] same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a fragment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*uwuli*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 [252] [293] [245] Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

J4:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

286 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tsuuki*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

• 291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
179 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tarači*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

3. Man taking time out from land clearing to play a flute (Rio Sepa, 1956–57).

142
• 291
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/p. 90-C/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[312]
[482]

4. Woman carrying gourd water container and a basket of freshly peeled sweet manioc roots (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

5. Woman chopping up sweet manioc prior to boiling it as the first step in making beer (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

6. Stirring the boiled manioc with a wooden paddle. This is done in conjunction with mastication to prepare the mash for fermentation (Río Sepa, 1956–57).

[412]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cunsimi, 1956–57).

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• 291
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/p. 90-8/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

4. Harner returning home with a howler monkey which he shot with a blow-gun (on his right shoulder) and poisoned darts (Rio Cumaina, 1956–57).

142
• 291
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411
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/p. 90-F/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142 9. Jaguar skin being dried for trade to the frontier Jívaro
• 291 (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río
302 Cangaimi, 1956–57).
281 /p. 90-G/
438
342

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142
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12. Man wearing an *etsemar* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Rio Cangaimi, 1956–57).

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

142
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14. Man with *etsemar* and ear sticks. His face painting, of achiote, is purely for beautification. The shirt was obtained through the native trading partnership system (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

15. Profile of same individual, showing native comb holding his hair and *etsemar* in place.

/p. 138-B/

34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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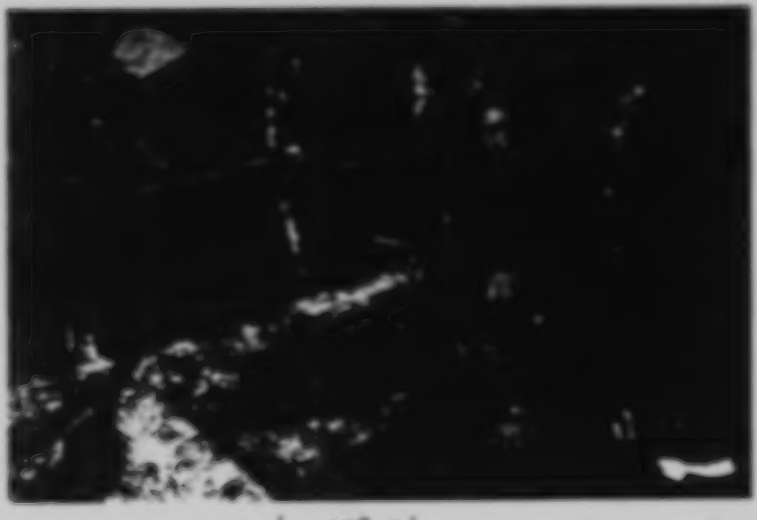
[415]
[293]

16. Visitors to an uncompleted house receiving manioc beer prior to engaging in conversation with the host. Guns are always carried on visits and prominently displayed (Río Cumaimi, 1956-57).

[353]

17. Host in typical pose when receiving visitors. Hand is cupped over mouth and shotgun cradled in lap (region between the upper Río Macuma and the upper Río Cangaimi, 1956-57).



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22. Shuman boiling *Banisteriopsis* vines and leaves to prepare the hallucinogenic drink *natema* (Río Tutunguza, 1964).

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756
296
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354
415
824

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and garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend at land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-6. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 459 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.